

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village
unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the
subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation
of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but,
on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as com-
mon inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears
in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance
conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements,
which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
● [342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively
permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at
least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days
of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest
a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to
provide room for a nuclear family, i. e., the parents and their un-
married children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About
every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies
of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[222] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main
[224] village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that
there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally
preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food
on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the
past.

Surára
Pakidí

/10 cont./

114 is true, the related Surára and Pakidí, as well as the Waiká in
142 the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is
strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and Ills. in Zerries,
1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidí are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep framework which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidái

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/11 cont./

Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

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114
52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

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Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's hut. Around the camp, roças (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windcreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surda
Pakidá:

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
 342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
 361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-
 hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here. /

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the
 interior, posts 3.30-3.40 meters high are set up at irregular inter-
 vals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller
 posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear
 posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
 [824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves
 for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centi-
 meters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a
 windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut
 described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large wind-
 screens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about
 seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.

[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
 [171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-
 fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves
 as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five
 years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá
 area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are
 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
 [461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four
 to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and
 at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has
 gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in
 the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance
 he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either
 side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with
 lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one
 another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the
 Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the inter-
 spaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite
 side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text continues on p. 28]

Surára
Pakidái.

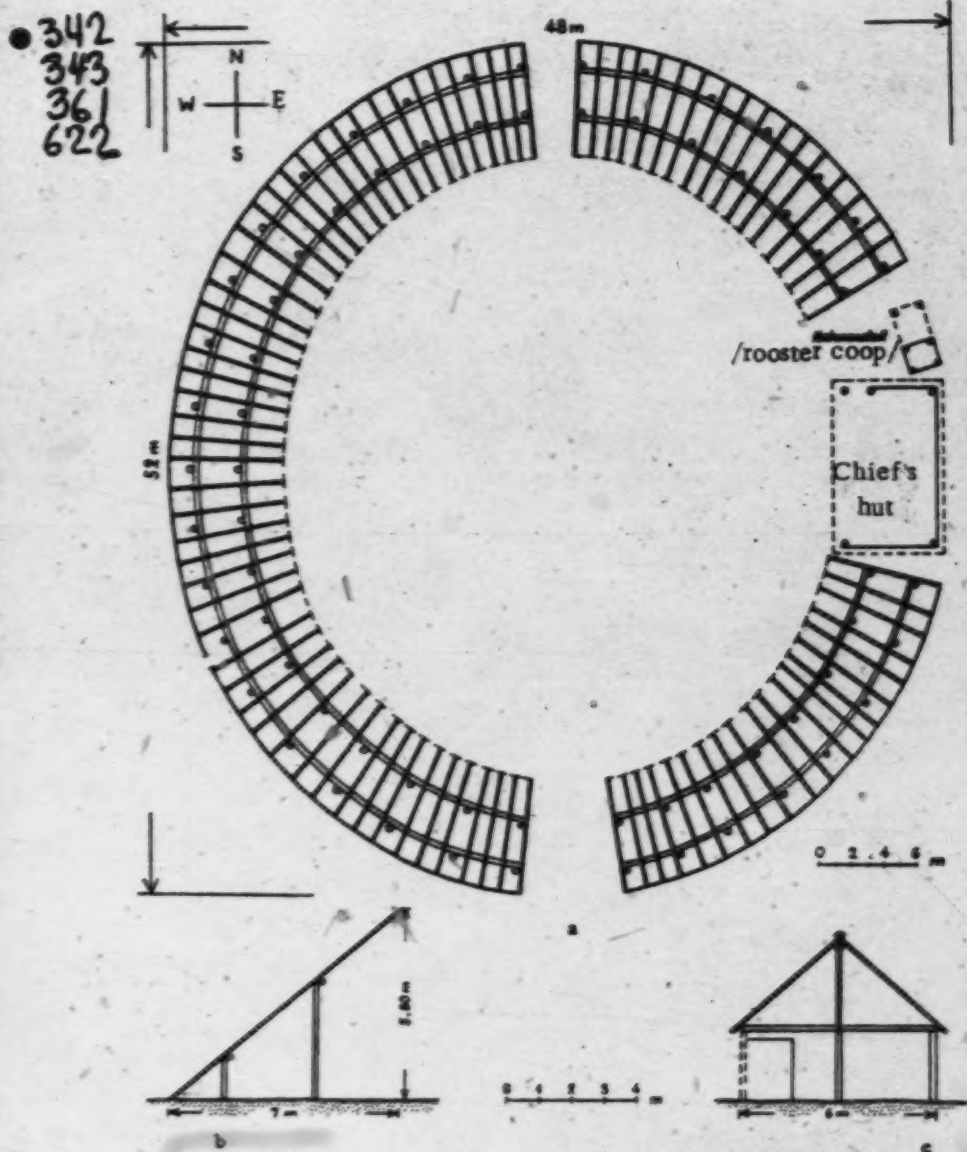


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

Suraya
Pakidai

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka.

[481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. 285 In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriarteia exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight • 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

Sutáta
Pakidai

● 342 /14 cont. /

592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night. 354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the 352 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces- 592 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife 342 always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks 353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks 342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families 231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the 342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called [194] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement [191] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Friel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Friel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the 622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It [197] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surá'a
Pakidái

/14 cont./

- 342 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips
622 lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang [354]
[352] on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall. [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

- 342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surá'a may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes. [174]
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Surára
Pakidai

/15/

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As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xirîna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

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The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,

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marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

Surara
Pakidai

/15 cont. /

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.

[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground
171 plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for
114 houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Coudreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and
Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl.
2 (4).

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

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[114] In the building method described by me, however, the circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts. According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obviously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xirifna, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka, [184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why

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58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

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484
491 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/60 cont./

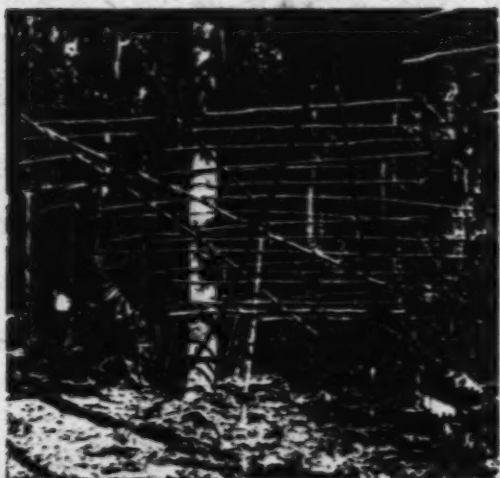
622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time,
 159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male
 Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal
 traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to oc-
 casional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças
 (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka,
 and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
 [224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example,
 he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every
 family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the
 hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women
 bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
 [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way.
 He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some
 of their hunting or gathering spoils.

• [342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and chil-
 dren occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with
 them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in
 order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe,
 which travels in single-file formation, always presented the
 following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder.
 After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of
 the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him,
 my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little
 baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets,
 which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies
 carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips.
 On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a
 parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors
 as a rear guard.

Surára
pakidá i

/3/

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Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters
during migrations of the tribe

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Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the
Demini and Aracá

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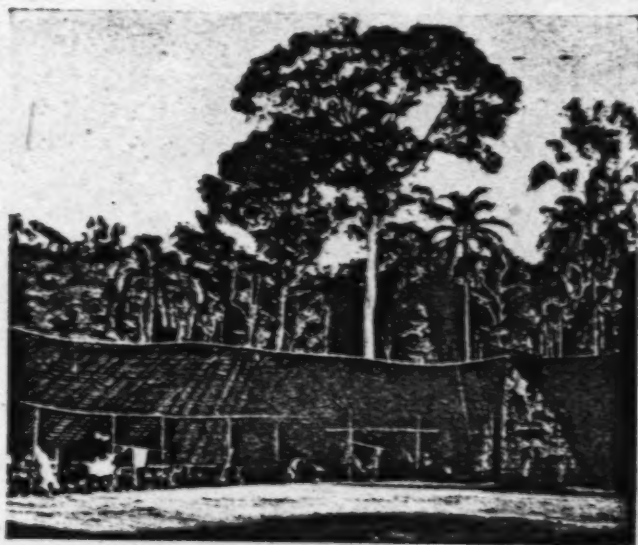
Surára
Pakidéi

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Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

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Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

Surára

/5/

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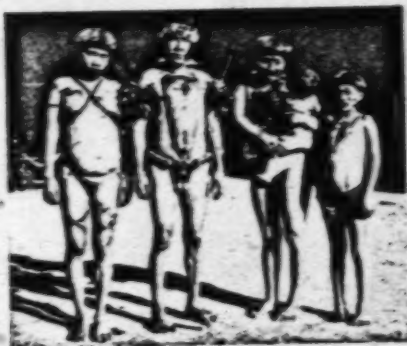


III. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)



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III. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



III. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children



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III. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

Surárg
Pekidái

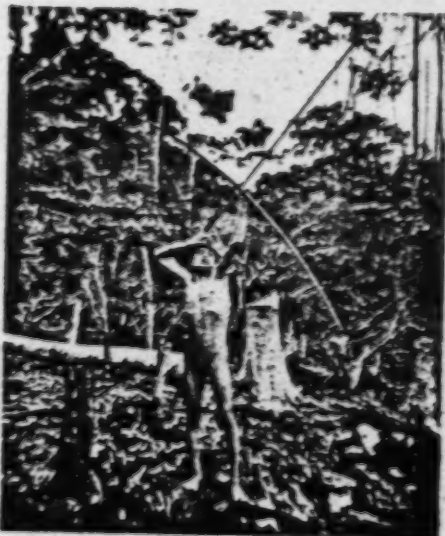
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Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting
an arrow



Ill. 14. Poréhiwō, war chief
of the Pakidái, in festive
adornment

/10/

Surara
Pakidai

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854
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Ill. 29. Pakidai woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

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Ill. 31. Pakidai Indian making fire

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian
with tobacco roll be-
tween lower lip and
teeth.

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Ill. 42.

The Surára and
Pakidái men as-
semble during the
festival in mem-
ory of the dead
for the ceremon-
nial drinking of
the banana soup
which is mixed
with bone ashes
of deceased mem-
bers of the tribe.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the
Surára warriors. (Chief
Hewemão is sitting at the
left in the foreground.)



/200 cont. /

162

C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

<u>Locality</u>	<u>No. Inhabitants</u>	<u>Observations</u>
1. Wewēña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebató.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

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According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebató, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

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We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

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[501]

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[262]

On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

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triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

[324]

/201 cont. /

● 342

The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

[352]

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The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

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The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

/187 cont. /

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The Gusika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguo palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

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Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

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/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiarias from the Mayomoon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Uraricuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

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The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

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Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitichas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.



The author with a group of Sanema on the upper Ventuari.



Sanema raft.

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

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123 one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the
133 river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

*
123 'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shiriana.'

123 We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

101 The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the
[131] forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are
[342] sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big
[177] patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of
[244] the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow
[245] weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and
361 decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre
178 for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary
[101] streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaia, and
[167] Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shiriana, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

563 Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build
197 a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good
361 manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritari know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shiriana are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shiriana—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

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The Earthly Paradise

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●342 **T**HERE are various ways of living in the forest, and as many ways of building one's dwelling there. There are men who are wary of the forest and to defend themselves build a big hut which is virtually a forest in itself: the doors will shut tight, the roofs hold out against the storms of years. While others, with no such precise ideas, will be content with a roof of palm leaves held up by four posts. Others again, with an instinctive feeling for the open air, will just take two forked branches and prop them up against a tree, so as to be able to sling up hammocks of bark or liana, perhaps adding a few leaves of the wild banana, should they feel it necessary, for a roof.

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[171] The big hut is a real masterpiece of native architecture, and an imposing sight, while the frail shelter is rather touching. The Makiritari, like the Pemontón and the Makushi from the Rio Branco, are adept at building the large-scale clan-dwelling—the 'big hut'—which is circular with a pointed roof. They level off the site, stamp it down, and plant the central stake or pole—the heart of the whole building and its symbol. The other poles are ranged round it at precise intervals determined and checked by the chief himself. The outer wall, whose framework consists of more slender poles, is eventually plastered with coloured clay. Once this has dried it cracks, so that it comes to resemble certain ancient dry wall constructions.

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[824]
[484] The masterpiece of the whole edifice is the roof. The highly skilful interweaving of thick and thin poles, with their liana latticework reinforcement, allows for a window opening upwards like a postern gate. The outer covering is done with San Paulo palm—a dwarf tree which grows in swampy land. But the high peak of the roof is finished off with the feathery leaves of the *manaca*—a rarer palm. When the roof has reached the stage at which it is ready to be closed in, a great deal of *manaca* is needed. Everyone sets off by boat along the river,

THE EARTHY PARADISE

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontón, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *sche* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasp's nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yancama SQ18
Sanema

● 342



23. Kivisochi's house - a year later.

[p. 144-8]

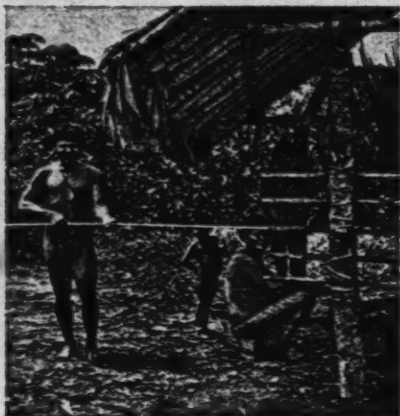
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44. The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahanahana.

45. The blow-pipe in action.

[p. 192-D]

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

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This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfus' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131]
[101]

Dolfus belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matakuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfus there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

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The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

Waica
Guajaribo

/434 cont./

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101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

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197 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
(248) many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
(352) mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
• (342) of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some
(484) few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191
192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guajaribo/ tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126
628 On the map of the local area of El Platana, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/457 cont. /

323
[114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip up-
river I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made,
except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile,
these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

• 342
335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope
and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams sup-
ported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported
by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two
short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners
might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into
the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main
beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the
short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two
diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are
put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams
inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form
the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top.

(Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

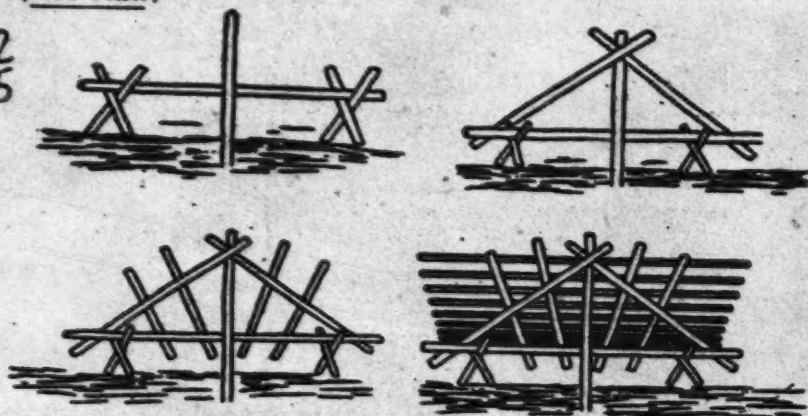
342
[824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in
place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that
the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and
brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort
of back wall. /458/ /220/ Fig. 3 appears here. /

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being
joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is
to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and conse-
quently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings
with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings
are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are gen-
erally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced
by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams.
The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent
backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/458 cont. /

● 342
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/Fig. 3/

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The drawings of Fig. 4 show the two systems of fixing the palm leaves on top of the framework of the roof.



/Fig. 4/

/460/

Hygienic Measures

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Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136]

In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

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The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

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[136]

Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361
166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

• 342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

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361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguo" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguo" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/467 cont. /

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[240] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the
harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when
the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the
house. They may call upon the women to help them when the
game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The
[499] women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

• [342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and
help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering
the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses
[482] in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the
house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut
into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family.
For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos.
The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook
everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the
meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the
"pijiguo" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all
the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in
their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by
straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and
any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or
bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/468 cont. /

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.

621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

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• [342] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

Plate I



The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

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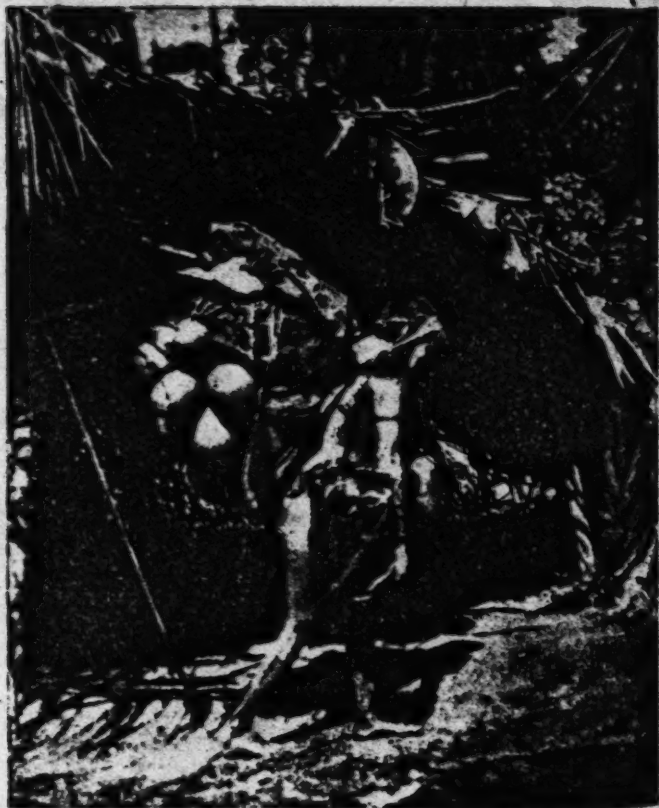
Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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A Gwaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

482



The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

Plate IV

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The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

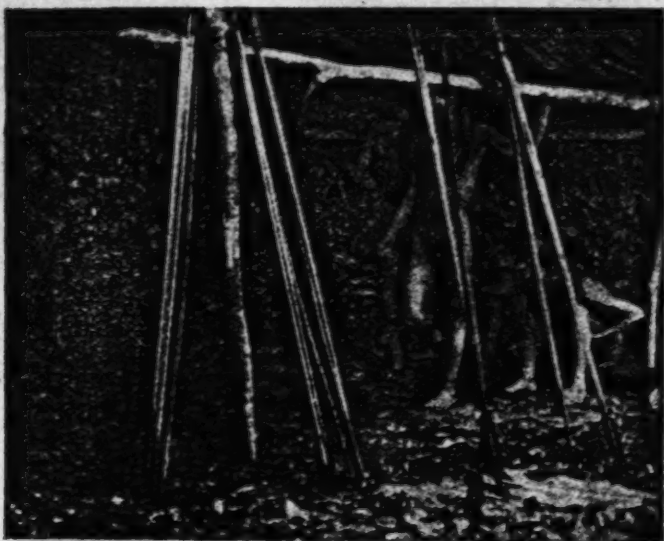
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Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

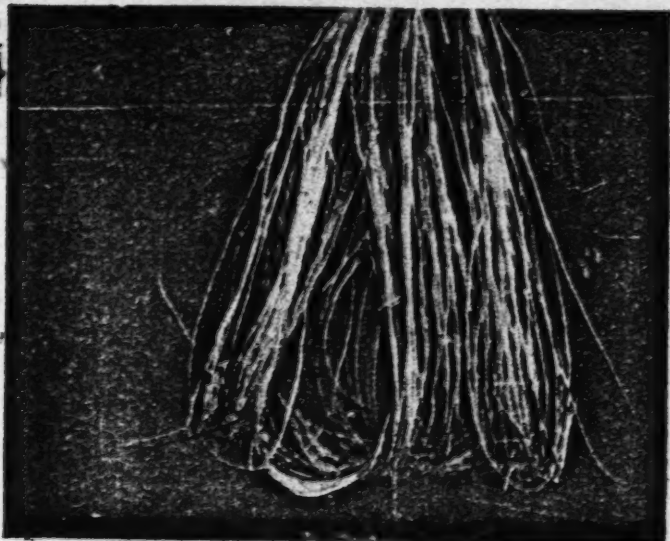
Plate V

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Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

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The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transverse weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

Waika

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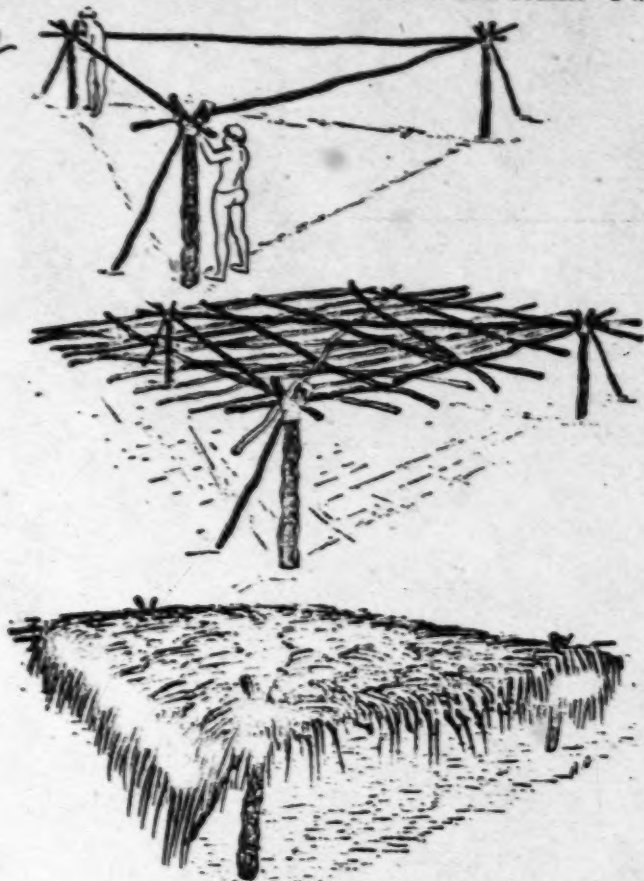
To the Source of the Orinoco

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123

On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

342



THE WAIKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE SAME PATTERN

Esmeralda to the Guaharibo Rapids

115

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James 797
 Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. 123
 He told me that he and a companion now up at the village
 had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months.
 He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they
 had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their
 language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indul-
 gent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about 123
 it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; [122]
 even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from
 unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and
 marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy
 the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently
 made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip
 away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their
 vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path
 probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a [417]
 clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together form-
 ing a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but
 we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another
 similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As
 we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of
 an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded
 in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just
 seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he
 had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed
 to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was
 omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, 361
 huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a 123
 circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner [342]
 of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod
 supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by
 lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves.
 The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single
 entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

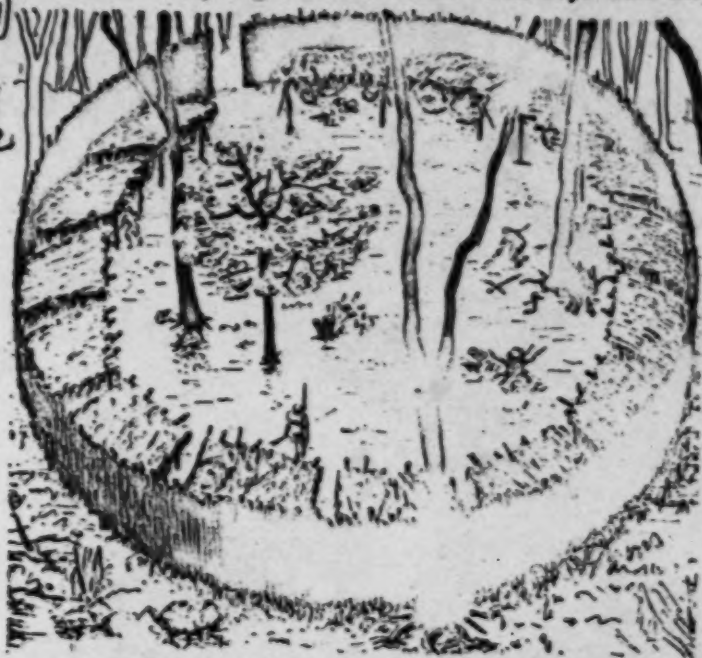
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To the Source of the Orinoco

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[609] entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

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WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

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[291] first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies. [302] All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
*621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting
or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
722 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march
apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the
possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is
generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and,
depending on the number of people living in the village, has
a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
*342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground
level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level),
rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of
about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous
roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and
their dependents living next to each other. The materials
used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure
the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village,
each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment
of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections
of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are
only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

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Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).


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[P.XViii]



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*Clay pots and banana (plantain) peels; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4).
New quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.*

*Mama-to: men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the
actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).*



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Fig. 2-1. A Yanomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Tonantzi River, Brazil).

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yanomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yanomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kqobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaböbwei-teri and Mqmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bissai-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bissai-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

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Fig. 2-3. Man blowing *ebene*, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yanomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kagawa's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and felling poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

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26 ADAPTATION

- 342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2-4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2-5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

- [341] At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

- [354] Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2-4a. The Yanomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2-4a shows three house types that are found in Yanomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

- [354] Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono*; they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT · 27

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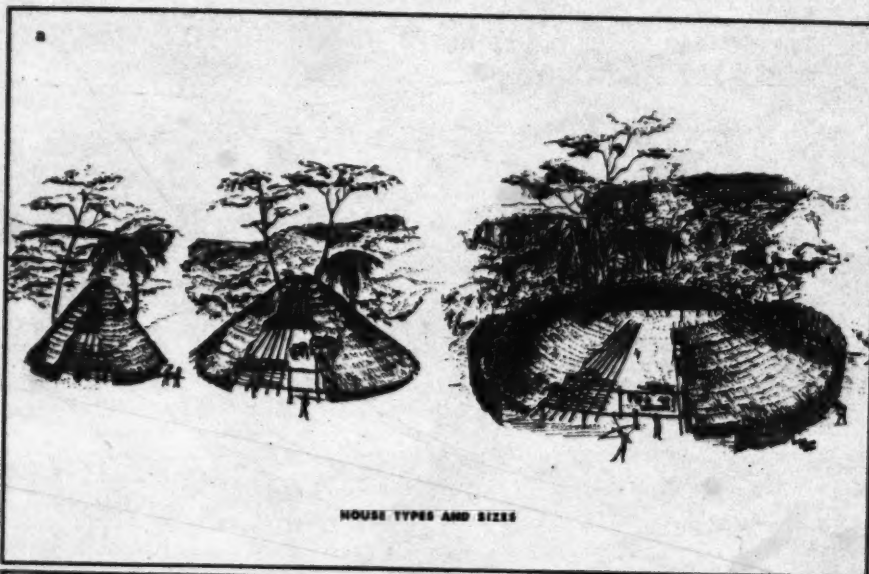
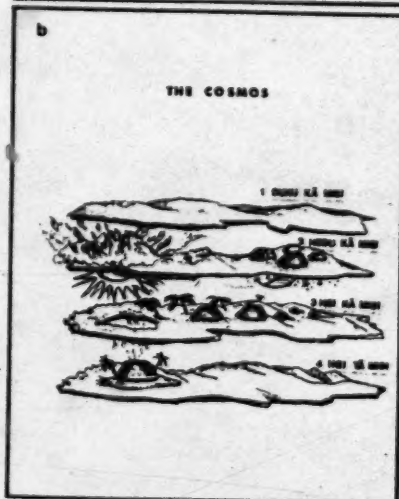
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Fig. 2-4.

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Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwá, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT · 29

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all. 342 484

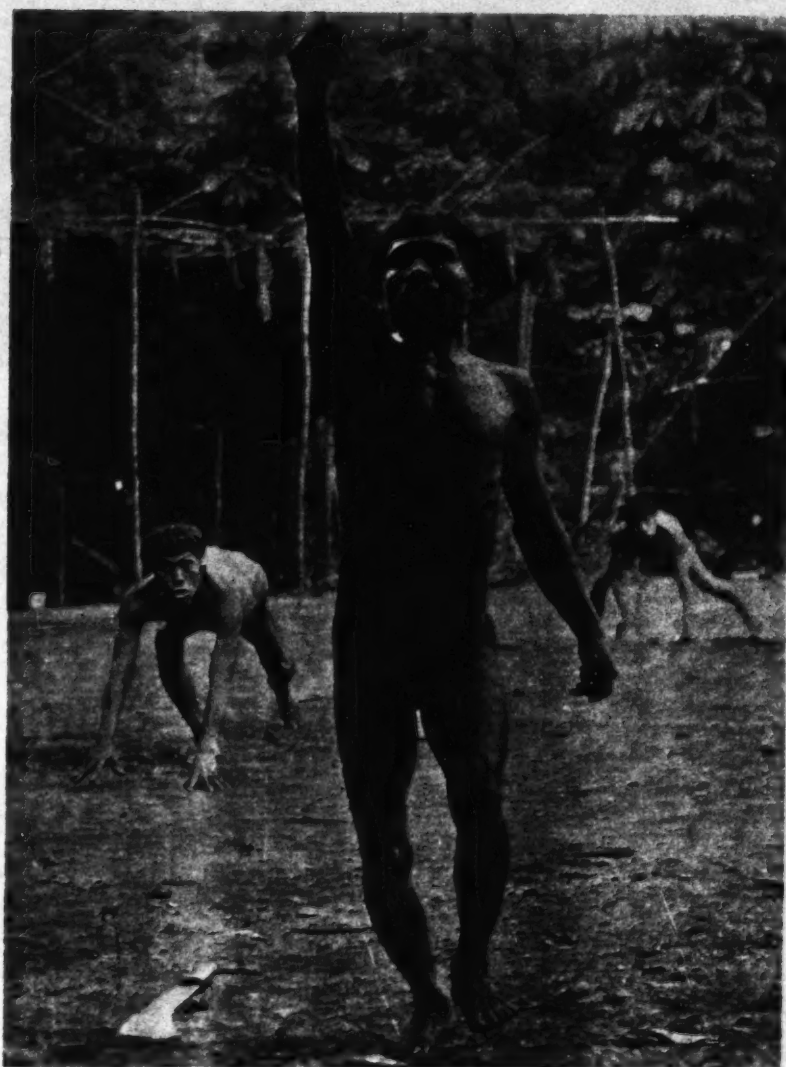
When the Yānomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*. 342

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs. 351 [313] [231]

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yānomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant. 224 262 222 262

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yānomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yai* and *kareubi*. The *yai* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *kareubi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *kareubi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them. [252]

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiweshi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yānomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiweshi* with the Yānomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After [252]



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Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura—demons.

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *bedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yanomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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• SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
 571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
 602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
 571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
 578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawā,
 for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is
 because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts
 to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical
 distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is,
 distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve
 than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other
 terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relation-
 ships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
 607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
 571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
 581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
 582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other,
 expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kaobawā's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
 601 tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowā-teri
 some time after Kaobawā's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwā,
 is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
 613 half-brothers. Nadesiwā is in Kaobawā's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
 581 with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
 582 group—Kaobawā and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwā to give his only
 daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an
 591 alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
 606 completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwā will
 have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawā
 and Nadesiwā treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other
 for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawā, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawā is related to
 607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
 cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawā is a
 594 frequent visitor in Kaobawā's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks
 613 that Kaobawā asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their
 groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations.
 In short, Kaobawā's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than
 his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kaobawā's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
 342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

DAILY ACTIVITIES • 89

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwā, Kaobawā's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawā's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawā's younger wife. Kaobawā's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawā's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.²¹

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamō village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liaisons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *basimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

²¹A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawā's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

DAILY ACTIVITIES • 91

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kəbawā does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantness of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages. 512
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Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark. 512
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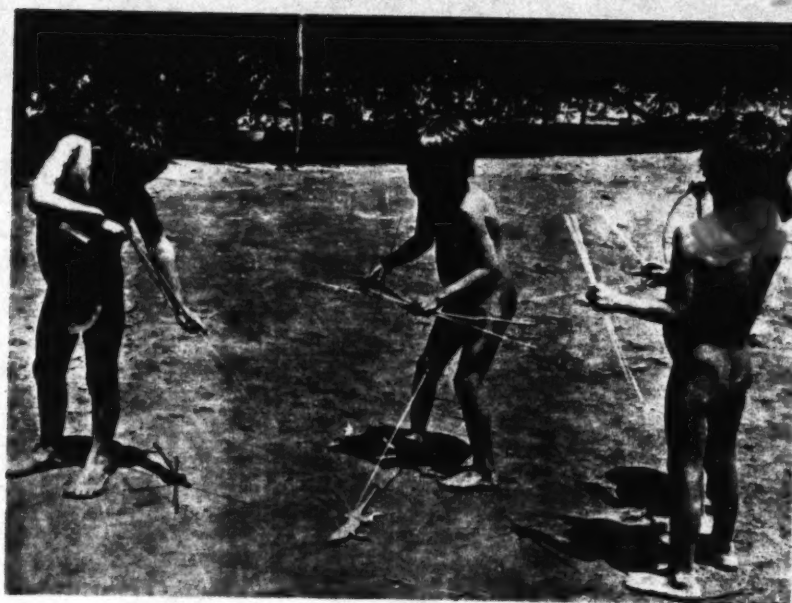


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows. 142
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The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it. 512
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It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawā, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to 512
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112 POLITICAL ALLIANCES, TRADING AND FEASTING

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur: the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaihu*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapari.

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A SPECIFIC WAR 127

burning it, and Kaobawā's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kaobawā's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kaobawā's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure. 628* 722 241 722 342 361

Meanwhile, the Patanowā-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kaobawā's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowā-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowā-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowā-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowā-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them. 726 (241)

The Patanowā-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowā-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowā-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowā-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowā-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowā-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasabōwā-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasabōwā-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasabōwā-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowā-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowā-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kaobawā's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains. 722 628*

Kaobawā's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mōmaribōwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kaobawā's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower



Fig. 3-2. Kqobaw's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) to raid the Patanowá-teri.

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kqobaw calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

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